the village that a ward within the village occupied with relation to the 621
fissure and was the property of the lineage occupying that ward. 423
Actually, the outlines of these lineage holdings were irregular. Their 596
limits were set by natural boundaries and there was an attempt to
equalize their value.

At the time of making the new, the lineage land was temporarily 621
divided among the various families, but it reverted to the lineage 596
as soon as the crop was harvested. Lineage land, or, more correctly, 425
the right to use it for agricultural purposes, was sometimes sold
to members of other lineages within the village. This was a last
resort and was only considered justifiable when some member of
the lineage had been enslaved and his ransom could not be raised
otherwise. It seems that such sales were often considered rather
as pledges for loans, for every lineage tried to keep its land intact
and would go to great lengths to buy back any which had been sold.
When a lineage seceded from a village, it forfeited its land rights
and its former territory could be occupied by the other lineages
without recompense to it.

Among the Mendbe two new developments in land ownership 423
have occurred in recent times. Due to the increasing value of forest 178
products, the lineages now preempt for their members the right to 596
gather honey, wax and raffia within their territories. There is also
an increasing tendency toward individual ownership of land. This
is correlated with the introduction of irrigated rice culture. The [241]
preparation of rice beds requires much labor and they must be kept
in repair constantly. A family which builds a terrace system is
felt to have established its individual right to the land and retains
it so long as the terraces remain in use. If the land is allowed to
lie fallow for any length of time, however, it reverts to the lineage.
This development is so recent that, as yet, there seems to be no
rule regarding the sale of rice beds to members of other lineages.

Among the Ibonga the rules regarding land ownership seem to [184]
be much the same as among the Mendbe except that individual
ownership of rice fields is much older and better established. Such
fields are inherited within the family and the lineage has little or no
right over them.

All property other than land is individually owned. This extends 421
even to the least important tools and utensils. Everything in the 593
establishment, from the house down, belongs to some particular
member of the family. These rights of ownership are recognized
even between parent and child in spite of the great theoretical power

of the father. A clear distinction is maintained between the property of husband and wife. A woman owns all the baskets, mats, etc., which she has made and everything which she has received through gift or inheritance. Similarly, the wife has no claim on anything belonging to the husband at the time of their marriage, or on anything which he may make or inherit later.

The economic independence of wives is well illustrated by the provisions which exist among the Menalo for the division of any increase in the family wealth after marriage. The rules vary slightly with the gens, but in general the wife is entitled to one half of the increase, other than inheritances. This becomes her absolute property and is retained even when she is divorced with cause. She can demand a division at any time and it is not uncommon for wives who do not get on well with their husbands to take their share of the profits as they come in and bank them with their own relatives. This holds for an only wife, or a first one. The rights of subsidiary wives are less clearly defined, but the husband is expected to make gifts to them from time to time. These become their absolute property. Among the Ikongo there is no such regular division of profits, but a husband is expected to make his wives frequent gifts. In both groups it is considered bad form for a husband to make gifts to his subsidiary wives without the first wife's permission.

Inheritance is fixed by law and it is impossible for a person to make a will. At the same time, a man or woman can give property away even when on the deathbed and the legal heirs have no redress. The only limitation is that land cannot be given outside the family. Old people frequently use this right as a threat to obtain obedience from their children and it is not uncommon for a man to give most of his estate to some favorite son or daughter before his death. As a rule, he will not do this until he thinks his end is imminent, for a gift once made cannot be recalled. In all matters pertaining to inheritance, individuals who have been adopted have the same rights as those born into a similar relationship.

It is universally prohibited for a husband to inherit from his wife or a parent from a child, but in other respects the rules of inheritance differ somewhat in the northern and southern divisions of the tribe.

Among the Ikongo a wife cannot inherit from her husband. Apparently this works little hardship except in the case of barren women. The wife usually has her own property and seems to possess an informal life interest in her children's share of the husband's estate.

I: Lemon 8-9 (1936-37) 1938 FTS Tanala FTS

Menabe anyone may be adopted. The adopter calls the village together in the *hisoro* or at his own house. He provides a liberal supply of rum and 1.20 to 5.00 francs in money. When all have assembled he fills a white drinking horn with rum and holds it in front of him while the head of the lineage announces: "Here is so-and-so, who is going to adopt so-and-so. He has brought the rum and the money." The rum is then passed around and the money divided among the whole village, the elders getting the largest share. The giving of the money is the real sign of adoption. After this ceremony the adopted child is in all ways the equal of a real one. 571

The Tanala Ikongo adopt only illegitimate children, their own or those of women they marry, and faithful slaves. In the case of an illegitimate child the man kills an ox, called the *ioto-lolop*. The meat is divided into two equal parts, one for each of the families interested, and the adoption publicly announced. After this the child has all the rights of a legitimate one. Fathers often adopt their illegitimate children without marrying the mother. [948]

Slaves may be adopted as a reward for long and loving service. In this case two oxen are killed, one for the village and the other for persons living in other villages but sharing the same tomb. The slave receives freedom and full social rights, but is expected to remain with his adoptive parent. If he neglects his adoptive father the latter may reject and sell him. His price will be divided between the adoptive father and the *Fokonolona* ("village council").

DISOWNMENT

Disownment is extremely rare but is practiced by all the Tanala on occasion. It seems to be limited to adult sons and is considered a desperate measure. The Ikongo disown only for repeated incest or if a man has become a professional thief. Ingratitude or even violence to parents is not considered sufficient cause. The Menabe disown for the same reasons and for offenses against the parents as well. 429 681 593

The erring son is warned first by his parents, then by his father's parents and the elders of the gens and lastly by his mother's parents. The mother's parents are considered the last resort and their pleas are believed to be most effective. If he still fails to mend his ways, his father and mother assemble the village and announce: "So-and-so, our son, will not reform his ways although he has been counseled by his mother's parents. We disinherit him and he can go wherever he wants to." They then give rum and a sum of money to the village

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

593 council. This is partly as payment for their service as legal witnesses
428 and partly, it seems, to recompense the village for the loss in its man
681 power. The occasion is a sad and solemn one and there is no feasting.

The man who has been disowned is driven out of the village and gens and is likely to be informally executed if he returns. He loses all rights to his parents' property and cannot be buried in the gens tomb. The punishment is considered more terrible than death, for his soul is forever excluded from the company of his ancestral spirits and cannot partake of the sacrifices. He becomes a starving vagabond in this world and the next.

PARENTAL AUTHORITY

593 Among the Tanala Ikongo authority over the children is vested in the mother. If the father has given the mother an ox, he is entitled to correct and discipline the children, otherwise not. If he tries to scold or strike a child, either for disobedience or some fault, the mother formally warns him to stop. If he persists and really strikes the child, the mother may divorce him, taking the children with her and giving them to her next husband. As far as I know, there is no other group in Madagascar which has such an arrangement. The neighboring tribes consider it barbarous. They say that it arises from the fact that, until quite recent times, the Ikongo men have made no marriage payment to th. wives' families. Their marriages were, therefore, nothing more than concubinage and the children, being illegitimate, belonged to the mother. However, the Ikongo regarded such unions as quite regular and counted the children as legitimate. The maternal right persists even today, when a bride price is regularly paid, and I believe that it may be a relic of a former matriarchal system, hints of which appear in other parts of their social organization.

Among the Menabe parental authority is vested in the father, although the mother seems to be most active in directing and controlling the children while they are small. The authority of the father continues, in theory, throughout life, but in practice a man's control over his grown sons varies greatly. He often has little if they live outside the village. Cases in which parents have been left in want while their children living elsewhere are prosperous are not uncommon. In general, the more property a man has the more respect and affection his children show him.

858 Children must show respect to their parents and there are a num-
861 ber of taboos governing their conduct. After they become too large

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

he can afford it, and tell him that she is bearing his child. The father will then consent to the marriage, to avoid scandal. Such conduct is considered reprehensible and the relatives on both sides will scold the couple. However, the trouble soon blows over and has no permanent effect on the social status of the pair. 584

Although marriages rarely begin in romantic attachments, affection between married people is common and seems to increase with age. Quarrels between husband and wife are rare. They are drawn together by their love for their children and by their common economic interests. Divorce, although very easy, seems to be much less frequent than among ourselves. 593 [586]

The degrees of relationship within which marriage is proscribed have been discussed under Social Organization. However, the force of the proscription varies. In addition to the absolutely forbidden degrees, there are certain relatives whose marriage is considered a semi-incest, likely to have bad results. This applies particularly to the descendants of two brothers. To remove the danger it is thought well to perform a ceremony to remove the ban. 582

Among the Ikongo this ban-lifting ceremony is called *fafy*. The man provides one ox if the relationship is remote or two if it is close. The animals are thrown and tied on the east side of the father's house, with their heads toward the east. The head of the lineage cuts their throats, invoking the gods and ancestors and explaining the reason for the sacrifice. The sacrificial parts are cooked and offered and the rest of the meat cut up and distributed raw to the members of both families involved. The man takes the heart and squeezes a few drops of blood from it on the forehead of the girl. She then takes it and does the same to him. After this the ban is lifted and they will have a prosperous life together. 582 782

Among the Menabe the ban-lifting ceremony is only compulsory when a man marries the daughter of his mother's sister's son, but it is thought advisable when he marries his father's brother's daughter or granddaughter. In ancient times an ox was killed and the couple sprinkled with the blood. This ceremony is now obsolete and the ritual has been forgotten. At present, the head of the lineage puts water in a wooden dish with a silver bracelet and scrapings of the *hazomanga* (see Prayer and Sacrifice). He asperges the couple with the water three or six times, usually six, counting as he does so. He then invokes the gods and ancestors and announces: "These two [giving the names] wish to marry. They are forced to this by love and by the difficulty of finding mates of the allowed degrees.